

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH EC-NINE FOREIGN
MINISTERS

REF: SEITZ-NEWLIN TELECON 12/9/73

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF REQUESTED BRIEFING PAPER:
YOUR MEETING WITH THE EC-NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS
YOU MAY WISH TO USE THIS MEETING TO:

--REVIEW THE BASIC CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES IN THE US
AND EC APPROACHES AND SUGGEST FURTHER MINISTERIAL REFLECTION
ON THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS AT ISSUE;

--DISCUSS THE MODALITIES FOR COMPLETING A US-EC DECLARATION
AND THE SCENARIO FOR ITS SIGNATURE;

--REITERATE WHY WE THINK IT IMPORTANT THAT JAPAN BE
ASSOCIATED WITH THE YEAR OF EUROPE ENDEAVOR BY PARTICIPATING
IN A SEPARATE TRILATERAL DECLARATION.

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ISSUES

US-EC DECLARATION

EC POSITION
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THE NINE HAVE RESISTED US REQUESTS FOR REFERENCES TO ENHANCED CONSULTATIONS, INCLUDING *RIOR CONSULTATIONS ON CHANGES IN ECONOMIC POLICY; THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP; AND THE CONCEPT OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.

US POSITION

WE DEEPLY REGRET THAT THE EUROPEAN RESPONSE HAS DRAINED THE YEAR OF EUROPE INITIATIVE OF MUCH OF ITS SYMBOLIC VALUE. AND WE BELIEVE IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO SUSTAIN US PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR OUR MILITARY COMMITMENTS IN EUROPE, UNLESS WE CAN RESTORE A POSITIVE EMOTIONAL*CONTENT TO THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

--THE OLDER GENERATION IS PASSING FROM THE SCENE AND THE NEW HAS NO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE DISLOCATIONS OF WAR AND THE STRAINS OF CONFRONTATION WHICH SUSTAINED THE ORIGINAL PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE;

--OUR FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESES HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED WITH OUR ADVERSARIES AND NOT WITH OUR FRIENDS;

--WE MUST THEREFORE FIND WAYS TO DRAW NEW INSPIRATION FROM OUR GOALS, RATHER THAN FROM OUR FEARS;

--WE MUST ALSO MAKE OUR PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE ADAPTING OUR RELATIONS CREATIVELY TO CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES;

--BUT WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN A FRESH ACT OF CREATIVITY HAS BECOME A MATTER OF HAGGLING AMONG TECHNICIANS;
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MOREOVER, CALCULATED LEAKS TO THE PRESS HAVE TURNED OUR DIALOGUE INTO AN ADVERSARY PROCEEDING;

--WHAT WAS CONCEIVED AS A REDEFINITION OF COMMON PURPOSES HAS THUS BECOME A PUBLIC DISPLAY OF DISUNITY;

--WE FIND IT HARD TO UNDERSTAND WHY COUNTRIES WILLING TO PROCLAIM THE INDIVISIBILITY OF THEIR SECURITY CANNOT SAY PUBLICLY THAT THEY ARE PARTNERS IN OTHER AREAS;

--THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIO IS SIMPLY A POLITICAL FACT, AND OUR DECLARATION WILL LACK CREDIBILITY UNLESS IT SUPPORTS THAT REALITY;

--BETTER CONSULTATION WILL BE ESSENTIAL IF WE ARE TO REMOVE IRRITANTS IN OTHER AREAS OF RELATIONSHIPS WHICH CAN ERODE THE POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR OUR SECURITY TIES;

--THIS REALITY, TOO, SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN THE TEXT;

--WE REGRET THE ABSENCE SO FAR OF GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS; WE HAVE RECEDED FROM MUCH OF OUR ORIGINAL LANGUAGE BUT YOU HAVE MOVED VERY LITTLE TOWARD OUR POSITION;

--WE HOPE MINISTERS PERSONALLY WILL REFLECT UPON THE LARGER ISSUES AT STAKE, AND THAT WE CAN THEN CARRY FORWARD THE DISCUSSIONS IN A MORE POSITIVE SPIRIT.

JAPANESE ASSOCIATION

EC POSITION

THE NINE HAVE PROPOSED A BILATERAL EC-JAPAN DECLARATION, AS WELL AS A BILATERAL EC-CANADA DOCUMENT, AS COMPANION PIECES TO THE US-EC DECLARATION. THEY MAY SEE THIS SERIES OF BILATERAL DECLARATIONS AS A MEANS OF FURTHER EMPHASIZING THEIR "EUROPEAN IDENTITY." INDEED, THIS IS SUGGESTED BY LANGUAGE IN THE TEXT OF THEIR DEMARCHE IN TOKYO, WHICH REJECTED A TRILATERAL US-EC-JAPAN DECLARATION BECAUSE "SUCH A DECLARATION WOULD DIMINISH THE IMPACT AND DETRACT FROM THE SECRET

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SPECIFIC CHARACTER OF THEIR BILATERAL DECLARATIONS."

ALTHOUGH REJECTING A TRILATERAL US-EC-JAPAN DECLARATION THE NINE AS A GROUP DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE CONSIDERED OTHER POSSIBLE TRILATERAL SCENARIOS:

--AN AD HOC TRILATERAL DECLARATION TO BE APPROVED BY THE NATO ALLIES PLUS JAPAN (AND POSSIBLY ALSO IRELAND AND SPAIN), AT A SEPARATE HIGH LEVEL MEETING, JUST BEFORE OR JUST AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH NATO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT;

--AN OECD DECLARATION (JAPAN, SPAIN, THE EUROPEAN NEUTRALS, ALL OF THE NINE AND ALL OF THE NATO ALLIES, *LUS AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, ARE OECD MEMBERS).

US POSITION

WE CONTINUE TO FAVOR JAPANESE ASSOCIATION IN A TRILATERAL DECLARATION, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NOT YET DISCUSSED THE DETAILED MODALITIES OF THIS WITH THE NINE OR WITH THE NATO ALLIES.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

--SOME OF OUR FRIENDS COMPLAIN ABOUT OUR FAILURE TO CONSULT, YET THE NINE PROPOSED TO THE JAPANESE A BILATERAL EC-JAPAN DECLARATION, WHICH CONFLICTS DIRECTLY WITH OUR DESIRE FOR A TRILATERAL APPROACH, WITHOUT ANY PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH US;

--THE JAPANESE THEMSELVES CLEARLY DESIRE INCLUSION IN A TRILATERAL DOCUMENT OF SOME KIND;

--WE FAIL TO UNDERSTAND THE STATEMENT IN THE EC PAPER THAT A THIRD, TRILATERAL DOCUMENT INVOLVING THE US, JAPAN AND THE EUROPEANS IN A MORE GENERAL DECLARATION WOULD "DIMINISH THE IMPACT AND DETRACT FROM THE SPECIFIC CHARACTER OF THEIR BILATERAL DECLARATIONS," (I.E., THE SEPARATELY CONCLUDED EC-US, EC-JAPAN AND, PERHAPS, EC-CANADA DECLARATIONS).

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--CONTINUED EUROPEAN REJECTION OF JAPAN'S EFFORT TO BECOME FULLY INTEGRATED INTO THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS OF THE ADVANCED, INDUSTRIAL WORLD COULD RESULT IN JAPAN'S RETURN TO A MORE ISOLATIONIST AND NATIONALISTIC FOREIGN POLICY, AND LESS JAPANESE COOPERATION ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS;

US-EC ECONOMIC RELATIONS

THE FOLLOWING BRIEFING MATERIAL AND SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ARE PROVIDED IN THE EVENT YOU WISH TO TAKE UP SPECIFIC ECONOMIC ISSUES.

THE PROBLEM

THE MID-EAST WAR HAS HIGHLIGHTED THE URGENCY FOR THE US, THE EC AND JAPAN TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THE ENERGY PROBLEM. THE OIL SHORTAGE OF 1973/74, AS THE SHORT SUPPLY OF CERTAIN FOODSTUFFS POINT UP THE NEED FOR CREATIVE THINKING BILATERALLY AND MULTILATERALLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE REFORM OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM INVOLVING TRADE, MONEY AND INVESTMENT.

EC POSITION

THE EC HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT THE NOTION OF ENHANCED CONSULTATION ON ECONOMIC POLICY DECISIONS IN THE DECLARATION FEARING THAT*THIS CONCEPT WOULD GIVE THE US A DROIT DE REGARD OVER EC DECISIONS. THE EC MINISTERS ARE LIKELY TO RESIST OVERT COOPERATION ON ENERGY MATTER

IF ONLY BECAUSE OF THEIR OWN DISARRAY OVER OIL. THEY ARE MORE RECEPTIVE TO THE GENERAL NEED TO WORK TOGETHER ON REFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, BUT THEY ARE MORE INTERESTED IN A REFORM OF THE MONETARY SYSTEM INVOLVING AN EARLY RETURN TO CONVERTIBILITY OF THE DOLLAR THAN ON GENUINELY ADAPTING THE RULES OF THE GAME TO NEW CIRCUMSTANCES.

US POSITION

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THE US IS DETERMINED TO PROCEED WITH A THOROUGH REFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRE AND MONETARY SYSTEMS AS WELL AS SETTING UP GUIDELINES AND PROCEDURES FOR CONSULTATIONS ON INVESTMENT AND TO MANAGE US-EC ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN A WAY WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THIS GOAL AND STRENGTHEN THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

--WE ARE COMMITTED TO REFORM OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS (MTN). WE ARE DETERMINED TO PROCEED WITH THE US TRADE BILL AS INDICATED BY THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO MOVE AHEAD IN CONGRESS DESPITE THE PROBLEMS WE MAY HAVE LATER OVER TITLE IV.

--AGRICULTURE HAS BEEN A PROBLEM BETWEEN US. THE SHORT SUPPLY SYSTEM OF LAST SUMMER HAS CAUSED EACH OF US TO REEXAMINE THE SITUATION. WE LOOK FORWARD TO CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE COMMUNITY TO ENSURE THAT WE DEAL WITH THIS ISSUE MORE CONSTRUCTIVELY THAN WE HAVE IN THE PAST.

--WE MUST ALSO DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATIVE APPROACH TO DEALING WITH ENERGY. THE PROBLEM TRANSCENDS THE CURRENT MID-EAST RELATED OIL CRISIS. THE US, THE COMMUNITY AND JAPAN MUST TOGETHER LOOK AT ALL ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM INCLUDING OIL REQUIREMENTS AND PRICE. A STRATEGY FOR CONSERVATION, INVESTMENT IN NEW CONVENTIONAL ENERGY RESOURCES AND A MASSIVE COOPERATIVE R D PROGRAM TO REDUCE OUR VULNERABILITY.

* NATO
DECEMBER 1973

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